

Dōgen's *Hōkyō-ki*

PART II

TRANSLATED BY N. A. WADDELL

26. The head priest compassionately taught: "In the past, Zen monks all wore the two-piece robe, though occasionally there were some who wore a one-piece robe.¹ Recently, the latter has come to be worn almost exclusively. It is a degenerate custom. If you want to emulate the ways of patriarchs of the past, you should wear the two-piece robe. Today, monks visiting the imperial court always wear it. It is also worn when the Dharma robe is transmitted,² and when the bodhisattva precepts are given. What Zen priests these days tell you, that the two-piece robe is only for brethren of the Vinaya temples, is wrong. They are ignorant of the old Dharma."

27. The head priest compassionately taught: "Never at any time since I became a temple master have I ever put on a figured or multicolored robe.³ In the Zen temples, arbitrary priests following their own self-styled inclinations now make a practice of wearing ceremonial robes while engaged in various activities with their monks, as if they lack the

* The first part of this translation appeared in the previous issue of the *Eastern Buddhist*.

¹ *Two-piece robe*. The *pien-shan* (褊衫, Jap. *hensan*), a short robe-like garment covering the upper part of the body which in regular or formal dress was worn together with the *ch'ien* (襜, *kan*), a wrap-around skirt worn from the waist down and secured with a cord. The *one-piece robe*, *chih-to* (直裰 *jikito*), a gown-like garment which was made by combining the *pien-shan* and *ch'ien*, became in time the most commonly used Buddhist robe.

² The robe conferred by a master to his disciple as material proof of the Dharma transmission. Probably the same as the figured robe and ceremonial robe of the next paragraph.

³ 袈裟. Robes with figured designs or colored patterns. Here it seems to indicate (fine) ceremonial robes; the Dharma robe of transmission. "My late master Ju-ching did not wear patterned or colored robes. He had received the golden brocade robe of transmission which had once belonged to [the Tsao-t'ung master] Fu-yung Tao-k'ai, but he

HÖKYŌ-KI

actual experience of the Buddha Dharma. That is why I never wear my ceremonial robe.

"Throughout his religious life the World-honored One wore a rough-woven patch robe.⁴ He never wore fine robes. Still, we should not make a special point of wearing poor, coarse robes. That would be unbuddhist, the practice of the ascetic Kambala school.⁵

"Descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs are those who wear the robes they should wear. They do not cling blindly and intolerantly to one way alone. What is more, only small men would spend their energy in fashioning robes.

"The patch robe of discarded cloth⁶ is a testament of ancient times. Remember that well."

28. Offering incense, I respectfully asked: "When was it that the World-honored One imparted the gold-brocade robe of transmission to Mahakashyapa?"⁷

The head priest compassionately taught: "An excellent thing to ask. No one else does, so there is no one who knows about it—a distressing thing for a teacher of the Dharma. Once years ago, when I was with my late master Hsueh-tou, I inquired about it.⁸ He was extremely pleased.

"The World-honored One entrusted his Dharma and golden robe to

did not use it, even when he ascended the Dharma seat to preach . . . [He always said that] most of those who now merely borrow the name of the patriarch's Way wear their fine Dharma robes in an arbitrary manner, whenever they themselves feel the inclination." *SBGZ shisho*, p. 352. Also see entry 31.

⁴ The *samghati* or great robe 僧伽梨服. See Yokoi and Victoria's *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 100.

⁵ A way of religious practice espoused by Ajita Kesakambala, one of the Six Non-buddhist Teachers (see Part 1, fn. 35). He advocated a hair-cloth woven from one's own hair, holding to the view that the suffering induced through self-torture assures happiness in the next life.

⁶ *Pāmsūla*. Chin. *fen-sao* 糞掃 Jap. *funzō*. See *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 95.

⁷ Among other sources, Hsuan-tsang's seventh century *Records of Western Countries* (*Hsi-yu chi*), ch. 9, states that Sakyamuni gave such a robe to Mahakashyapa as evidence of his Dharma transmission. The story became part of the Zen tradition. Dōgen's question is: At what point during the fifty some years Mahakashyapa served as the Buddha's disciple was he entrusted with the Dharma transmission?

⁸ Tsu-an Chih-chien (足庵智鑑 Sokuan Chikan), of Mt. Hsueh-tou, 1105-1192, a monk of the Tsao-t'ung (Sōtō) line of Zen. See introduction, Part 1, p. 112.

Mahakashyapa the very first time he set eyes on him, when the latter came to commit himself to the Buddha's teaching. This made Mahakashyapa the first of the patriarchs. He received the robe and Dharma with reverence, and began a day and night observance of all the disciplines of Buddhist practice⁹ which he continued unremittingly throughout his life, never even lying down to sleep. He kept the Buddha's robe on the top of his head while doing zazen,¹⁰ visualizing in himself an image of the Buddha or the Buddha's stupa.¹¹

"Mahakashyapa was an old buddha and bodhisattva. Whenever the World-honored One would see him coming, he would make a place for him and have him share the Dharma seat. Of the full thirty-two characteristic features of a Buddha,¹² he lacked only two: the radiant tuft of white hair between his eyebrows and the fleshly protuberance on the crown of his head. So it was a joyous sight for men and devas to see him sitting there on the same seat with the Buddha. He had been entrusted with all the Buddha's supernatural power and wisdom and his entire Dharma, without a single omission or diminution.

"So it was that very first time he saw the Buddha that he got the Buddha's robe and the Buddha's Dharma."

29. I asked: "There are four kinds of temples in the land: Zen temples, Doctrinal temples, Vinaya temples, and unaffiliated temples where the priests do not belong to any authorized lineage."¹³

"In Zen temples, descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs devote themselves to singleminded practice and transmit directly from master to disciple the wall-sitting zazen of the First Patriarch Bodhidharma. 'The treasure of the right Dharma eye, the Buddha's exquisite mind of nirvana'¹⁴

⁹ *Dhuta*. Twelve disciplines, relating to clothing, food, and dwelling, through which a Buddhist disciple cleanses his mind of worldly desires and attains enlightenment.

¹⁰ One of the ways of venerating the Buddhist robe. Mentioned by Dōgen in *SBGZ kasakudoku* p. 642; translated in *Zen Master Dōgen*, pp. 105-6.

¹¹ In the *Mahā-ratnakūṭa sūtra* (大寶積經), eight ways of venerating the Buddhist robe are described which include visualizing a buddha or a buddha's stupa in one's robe.

¹² A detailed list of these may be found in Leon Hurvitz's *Chia-i* (Brussels, 1962), appendix K.

¹³ Chin. *t'u-ti yuan* 徒弟院; Jap. *tsuchi-in*. These seem to be temples in which the abbots have not received sanction from a master as successor to an established line, such as is possessed by head priests in the Zen temples.

¹⁴ Words Sakyamuni is said to have spoken to Mahakashyapa when he entrusted him with the transmission of the Dharma. See Part I, p. 138, fn. 73.

is kept in the Zen temples. They are indeed the legitimate inheritance that has come down from the Tathagata and the central headquarters of his Dharma. All other temples are branches subordinate to the Zen temples, and should never, I think, be considered on the same level with them.

"In temples of the Doctrinal school, the teachings and contemplations of the T'ien-t'ai prevail.¹⁵ Dhyana master Chih-che was the only Dharma son of Dhyana master Nan-yueh Hui-ssu.¹⁶ He received in transmission from him the Three Cessations and Three Contemplations of the One Mind, and attained the wisdom-power of the Lotus Samadhi.¹⁷ In his case, it can truly be said that what he received from his teacher coincided perfectly with what he had learned from the scriptures.¹⁸

"Having made an extensive study of the views of teachers of sutras and shastras, I find that Dharma master Chih-che stands supreme in the completeness of his understanding of [all facets of] the Buddha's teachings. His brilliance overshadows all who have come before or after him.

"Nan-yueh Hui-ssu received the Dharma from Hui-wen of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. After the religious mind awakened in him, he was able to enter the fundamental stages of dhyana.¹⁹

¹⁵ Here, *Doctrinal school* refers specifically to T'ien-t'ai. See Part 1, fn. 54.

¹⁶ The first three T'ien-t'ai patriarchs are Hui-wen 慧文 (usually 文; Emon, *n.d.*), Nan-yueh Hui-ssu 南嶽慧思 (Nangaku Eshi, 515-577), and T'ien-t'ai Chih-che 天台智者 (Tendai Chissha, 538-597), the latter being regarded as the actual founder of the school. Accounts of the latter two are included in the Zen school's *Ching-te chuan-teng-lu* (*Keitoku denjōroku*), ch. 27.

¹⁷ The *Three Cessations* (*san-chih* 三止) and the *Three Contemplations* corresponding to them (*san-kuon* 三觀), representing the aspects of dhyāna and prajñā respectively, deal with the Three Truths: emptiness, unreality, and the middle way. They occur in one and the same mind. It is said that when the evil passions obstructing the middle way are by means of them put to rest, the "marvelous principle" of the Three Truths in perfect, harmonious integration becomes clearly manifest, and the practitioner enters the Lotus Samadhi, attaining the capability of free and unrestricted spiritual activity.

¹⁸ Allusion to a passage in the *Larger Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*, 30. "Men of good birth, if you practice like this, before long you will hear and attain the prajñā-pāramitā. Whether you hear it from the sutras or hear it preached by a Bodhisattva-teacher, what you will hear and attain is nothing but the prajñā-pāramitā." Ui, p. 92.

¹⁹ *Ken-pen ch'an* (根本禪 *kompon zan*) refers to the four stages of dhyāna which enable one to achieve bliss in the world of form by eliminating illusion. "Unless these four stages are learned well, you cannot come to know the dhyana which lies beyond them. Therefore they are called the fundamental stages of dhyana." *Hōkyō-ki monji* 2, 29v.

HÖKYŌ-KI

"The initial impetus for Hui-wen's teaching came when he reached back over his shoulder and picked a work at random [out of the Tripitaka]. His grasp fell on Nagarjuna's *Treatise on the Contemplation of the Middle Way*.²⁰ He went on to work out the doctrine of One Mind and Three Contemplations. Ever since then the fundamental principle in Doctrinal temples throughout the land has always been the teaching of T'ien-t'ai. But although Hui-wen depended on the *Treatise on the Contemplation of the Middle Way*, all he did was to read what had been produced by Nagarjuna. He neither encountered the producer Nagarjuna nor received his Dharma sanction.²¹ Besides, temple regulations and the rules governing the use of the various temple buildings were as then still undetermined.

"In China today rooms are built in some Doctrinal temples for the practice of the Sixteen Pure Land Contemplations. These contemplations appear in the *Meditation Sutra*. But the genuineness of that sutra still is questionable.²² It has long been regarded with doubt by Buddhist scholars. How can the Sixteen Pure Land Contemplations be equated with the Three Contemplations of the One Mind of T'ien-t'ai? The former is a teaching saddled with expediencies, the latter a doctrine which reveals true and fundamental reality. There is a world of difference between them; like fire and water, one works against the other. It would seem Buddhist scholars in the great Sung do not clearly understand the doctrines and contemplations of T'ien-t'ai and use without reason those Sixteen Contemplations containing expedient elements.

"It is obvious that the Doctrinal temples cannot be said to have transmitted the style of the monasteries during the lifetime of the Buddha. And the temples prior to T'ien-t'ai surely must have reflected a style that was brought here by Kashyapa Matanga and Gobharana.²³

²⁰ *Chung-kuan lun* (中觀論 *Chugan-ron*), attributed to Nagarjuna. Translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 409. The principal work of the Mādhyamika, or Middle School.

²¹ Hui-wen told his disciples he had realized the Three Truths (fn. 17) by himself without a teacher thanks to the *Chung-kuan lun*.

²² Sixteen ways of meditating on Amida and his Pure Land preached by Sakyamuni in the *Meditation Sutra* (Chin. *Kuan tou-liang shou-fo ching* 觀無量壽佛經 Jap. *Kan muryō-jubutsu kyō*). Modern scholars tend to the view that it is a forged sutra, first written in Chinese. One of the three principal sutras of the Pure Land school.

²³ The Indian priests Kashyapa Matanga and Gobharana are said to have arrived in China in 67 A.D. Thus the interval covered here is from 67 until the fifth century when T'ien-t'ai evolved.

HÖKYŌ-KI

"The Vinaya temples trace their origin to Nan-shan.²⁴ But Nan-shan never went to the great western land of India. He merely read some of the fragmentary writings which had filtered into the eastern lands. Although he may [as he writes²⁵] have learned from teachings the devas communicated to him, how can that compare to receiving personal instruction from a wise and saintly teacher? Therefore, in the minds of a great many scholars and practitioners, the halls and other structures of the so-called Vinaya institutions today, laid out in a long row like the scales on a fish or teeth on a comb, are the subject of considerable scepticism.

"The so-called Zen monasteries of today are the leading temples in the country. They include the large monasteries in the noted 'mountains.' Each of them can house upwards of a thousand monks and boasts of a hundred buildings or more. The many-storied edifices and towers standing one behind the other and connected by corridors and passageways running east and west give the impression of an imperial residence. The rules governing such layout and construction are without doubt something passed down through the years from one buddha-patriarch to another in direct oral transmission. Accordingly, everything is laid out as it ought to be. What ought to be constructed is constructed. Indeed, splendid architecture in itself could not be the primary consideration in Zen temples.

"The practice of doing *sanzen* with a master, hearing his teaching, and working in close concert with him day and night must also be something directly determined by the First Patriarch. It cannot be compared to the conduct of others, who rely on words and letters and give themselves to interpreting their meaning. Surely this rule of Zen life is the right one."

"I presume to submit also the following: When the World-honored One our Buddha appeared in the world, he always conformed to the formulas

²⁴ Nan-shan Tao-hsuan (南山道宣 Nanzan Dōsen, 596-667) established the first independent Vinaya (Chin. Lu-tsung 律宗) or Commandment school based upon the *Sau-fen lu* (四分律 Shibun ritsu). By the Sung dynasty the Nan-shan school was virtually the only Vinaya school remaining.

²⁵ In his *Kuan-i'ang chuan* 觀音傳 *Kan-tsu den*; found in *Fa-yuan chu-lin*, 法苑珠林 ch. 57.

²⁶ The seven are Sakyamuni and the six buddhas who appeared prior to him. In the *Chang-te chuan-teng lu*, ch. 1, the Buddha tells his disciple Ānanda to take his begging bowl and beg offerings, which, he says, is the way of the Seven Buddhas. *Hōkyō-ki tekkyō-shū* (摘葉集, Kyoto, 1878) 2, 53v (this work includes the same text as *Mongi* but also includes the texts of source materials cited or alluded to in *Hōkyō-ki*).

of old buddhas prior to him. Thus one day he told Ananda to 'follow the rules of the Seven Buddhas.'²⁶ Therefore, the Dharma of the Seven Buddhas of the Past is, as such, the Dharma of Sakyamuni Buddha, and the Dharma of Sakyamuni is, as such, the Dharma of the Seven Buddhas. From Sakyamuni Buddha this Dharma was transmitted for twenty-eight generations until it reached the venerable Bodhidharma. He came personally to China and transmitted here the right Dharma in the right way to deliver sentient beings from their illusion. It was passed further on for five generations until it reached the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng. The descendents of Hui-neng's two chief disciples Ching-yuan and Nan-yueh today wear the title of 'good teacher' and promote the work of deliverance in the Buddha's place.²⁷ The monasteries where they reside must be said to be the rightful and legitimate heritage of the Buddha—comparisons should never be drawn between them and Doctrinal, Vinaya, or other temples. We may liken this to the fact that there cannot be two kings in a country."

Master, under your compassionate gaze I make one hundred prostrations, offer incense, and submit the above in profound veneration.

The head priest compassionately taught: "The statement you have submitted to me is very good. It states the matter correctly. Meaningless names like Doctrinal, Vinaya, and Zen were never heard among the ancients. The present custom of giving such labels to temples is a degenerate one indicative of the modern latter-day period. Members of the imperial court, ignorant of the Buddha Dharma, speak indiscriminately of Doctrinal priests, Vinaya priests, Zen priests, and so on. And when a calligraphic plaque written by the emperor is presented to a temple, the words Vinaya temple, Doctrinal temple, or Zen temple are written on it. Such practices have developed to the point that now the distinction of five kinds of Buddhist priest has become commonplace.

"Thus Vinaya priests are distant descendents of Nan-shan; Doctrinal priests are distant descendents of T'ien-t'ai; Yoga priests are distant

²⁷ Ching-yuan Hsing-an (Seigen Gyōshi, d. 740) and Nan-yueh Huai-jang (Nangaku Ejō, 677-744) became the founders of two lines which turned out to be the main branches of Chinese Zen.

HŌKYŌ-KI

descendents of Pu-k'ung and others;²⁸ Unaffiliated priests lack any clear line of succession; Zen priests are the descendents of Bodhidharma.

"How regrettable to see such groups as this in our peripheral land in the midst of the latter day. Although they have five divisions in India,²⁹ there they are always one Buddha Dharma. But here in China, with the five priesthoods, it is as if they were not one Dharma. If the country had a wise ruler, such a perversion could not occur.

"I want you to understand clearly that the manner of layout and construction in what are today called Zen temples is all according to the personal directive of the First Patriarch, a direct transmission by the legitimate Dharma heir. The ancient principles of the Seven Buddhas of the Past are thus found in Zen temples alone. Although it is indeed a misappellation to speak of 'Zen' temples, still the Dharma-manner of what is done in them really represents the authentic transmission of the buddha-patriarchs. In view of that, our temples are the headquarters of the Buddha Dharma. The Vinaya and Doctrinal temples are off-shoots. The buddha-patriarchs are therefore the kings of the Dharma. When a ruler of a country ascends the throne he is the monarch of the whole land and all things fall under his sovereignty."

30. The head priest compassionately taught: "Descendents of the buddhas and patriarchs begin by ridding themselves of the five restraints and then rid themselves of the sixth. The six restraints are made up of the five restraints and the restraint of basic ignorance.³⁰ By removing the ignorance restraint, the other five are removed too. But even though the five restraints are gone, if the ignorance restraint still remains then you have not yet attained the practice and realization of the buddha-patriarchs."

I bowed in gratitude before the master. Then, standing up and saluting with folded hands,³¹ I said: "I had never heard before anything like your

²⁸ Yoga (Yu-ch'ieh 瑜伽 Yuga). Pu-k'ung (不空 Fukū), the famous Indian monk Amoghavajra (705-775), was the third patriarch of the esoteric Chen-yen or "True Word" sect, which derives from the Indian Yogācāra School.

²⁹ A division, based on conflicting views of the observance of precepts, which is said to have arisen following the death of the Buddha.

³⁰ See Part I, entry 15, for the five restraints (greed, anger, sloth, excitability, doubt). Actually, the ignorance (*avidyā*) restraint (無明量) is said to be the root-source of all the evil passions, including the five restraints.

³¹ *Ch'a-shou* 叉手 *shashu*. An expression of respect.

instruction. None of the elder priests and none of my brother monks know it. None of them have ever spoken a word about it. How fortunate I am today to be singled out to receive your great compassion and suddenly come to learn something I had never heard before. It is a blessing from favorable karma in the past. But is there some secret method for removing the five restraints and six restraints?"

The head priest smiled and said: "What is the practice you have been working on all this time? That in itself is the way to eliminate the six restraints. When buddha after buddha and patriarch after patriarch divorced themselves of the five restraints and six restraints and scolded the five desires³² and the rest away, they did so without any recourse to gradual stages but by pointing straight to the mind and transmitting the Dharma personally. You work singlemindedly on just sitting alone and arrive at the dropping off of your body and mind—that is the way to break free of the five restraints and five desires. Apart from that there is nothing whatever. Not one thing. How could there be a second or a third!"

31. "Since you became the head priest here you have not worn your Dharma robe.³³ What is the reason for that?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "From the time I took the abbotship of my first temple never once have I worn it. Let us call the reason prudence.³⁴ The Buddha and his disciples want to wear patch robes made from cast-off rags, and to use discarded receptacles for their bowls."

Then I said: "The wearing of the Dharma robe in the other temples shows a clear lack of prudence. It even bears traces of greed. When someone like the old buddha Hung-chih³⁵ wears the Dharma robe, however, there can be no question of lack of prudence."

³² The desires for possession, sexual love, food, fame, and sleep. Cf. Part 1, entry 15.

³³ The robe of transmission he received from Tsu-an Chih-chien.

³⁴ *Chien-yueh* 儉約 *kemyaku*. Ui (p. 96) says this means "being content with few desires." *Bukkyō-go daijiten* (329d) has "acting with modesty and reserve."

³⁵ Ts'ao-tung Zen master Hung-chih Cheng-chueh 宏智正覺 (Wan-shi Shōkaku, 1091–1157). The great champion of *mo-chao*, "silent illumination," Zen in the Sung dynasty. Hung-chih lived at Mt. T'ien-t'ung for thirty years and was responsible for rebuilding and greatly enlarging the monastery there.

The head priest compassionately taught: "When old buddha Hung-chih wore his Dharma robe it was prudence, and it also conformed to the Way. In your native Japan you have no reason not to wear a Dharma robe. I do not wear it here because I do not want to make the same mistake all the other head priests do of coveting fine robes."³⁶

32. One time, the priest instructed: "The zazen of arhats and pratyeka buddhas,³⁷ although it does not attach to the flavor of meditation, lacks great compassion. That sets it apart from the zazen of the buddhas and patriarchs, which in vowing to save all sentient beings places great compassion foremost. Non-buddhists in India did zazen too. Their schools, however, suffer from three weaknesses: attachment to the flavor, wrong views, and prideful arrogance. That means the seated meditation they practice is forever distinct from the zazen of buddhas and patriarchs.

"Again, zazen is practiced among the sravakas. But their zazen is weak in compassion. Although in the world of various dharmas, they do not use their keen intelligence to open the way universally to the true aspect of those dharmas. By working for their own good alone, they destroy the germ of buddhahood. So theirs stands far removed from the buddha-patriarchs' zazen too.

"As for the buddhas and patriarchs, from the very first awakening of their religious mind they take a vow to gather in all the various Buddha Dharmas. Therefore, in their zazen they do not forget or forsake any sentient being, down even to the tiniest insect. They give them compassionate regard at all times, vowing to save them all and turning over to them every merit they acquire. That is the reason buddhas and patriarchs are always found in the world of desire negotiating the Way in zazen. In the world of desire it is Jambudvīpa the southern continent³⁸ alone where the greatest causal conditions [for Buddhist salvation] exist: there, they

³⁶ See above, fn. 3.

³⁷ Taken together in this context, arhat, pratyeka buddha, and sravaka (see below) represent high stages of attainment in the (inferior) Lesser Vehicle.

³⁸ Jambudvīpa is the realm within the world of desire (Sanskrit, *kāmadhātu*: where the beings are dominated by desire) in which human beings live. (See Part 1, fn. 15). Because of man's relatively short lifespan and the presence of suffering, conditions conducive to religious awakening are present, and thus there alone do buddhas appear in answer to the needs of the inhabitants.

practice over the course of many lives to accumulate merits of every kind and attain a suppleness of mind."³⁹

I bowed and asked: "How does one attain a supple mind?"

The priest said: "To negotiate in practice and affirm in realization the buddhas and patriarchs' dropping off of body and mind—that is the supple mind. It is what is called the 'mind-seal' of the buddha-patriarchs."

I prostrated myself before the master six times.

33. The head priest compassionately taught: "In the Dharma Hall there are statues of lions placed on the eastern and western edges of the southern step of the Dharma seat.⁴⁰ They face toward the step, with their heads turned slightly to the south. They are white, and should be white all over, mane, body, and tail. They have started making white lions with blue manes. It shows a total ignorance of the tradition which has been handed down from master to disciple. The lions should be white from mane to tail.

"There is a lotus canopy over the Dharma seat, so called because it looks like a lotus flower overspreading the ground. It is eight-sided in shape, with eight mirrors and eight pennants. A small bell hangs from the edge of the pennants at each of the eight sides. The flower petals are arranged in five layers, with a bell suspended from each petal. Everything should be exactly as it is here over the Dharma seat at Mt. T'ien-t'ung."⁴¹

34. After making one hundred prostrations, I said to the master: "I have just heard your gatha on the windbell. The opening line reads, 'The whole body is a mouth suspended in the empty void,' and third line,

³⁹ *Jou-juan hsin* 柔觀心 *nyūkan-shin*.

⁴⁰ The Dharma seat from which the master preaches is also called the Lion Seat; his preaching, the lion's roar, which is able to drive off all baneful influences. In the *P'u-yuan ching* (普賢經 *Fugen-gyō*) it is said that when the Tathagata was born five hundred white lions appeared from the Himalayas and protected him from harm. *Hōkyō-ki tōkiyō-shū* 2, 58v.

⁴¹ In the first printed edition of *Hōkyō-ki* (mid-eighteenth century) the editor Menzan's emendation of the text gives what is perhaps the proper context of this sentence: "When you make [in the future] a canopy over the Dharma seat, it should be exactly . . ."

HÖKYŌ-KI

'Preaching prajñā to all with singleness of heart.'⁴² Can this 'empty void' refer to the phenomenal emptiness of space? Foolish people are certain to imagine that it does. Students of today are uncertain in their understanding of the Dharma. They will take the blue sky and open space for the empty void. They are truly to be pitied."

The head priest compassionately taught: "'Empty void' is prajñā. It is not empty space in the phenomenal sense. It is not impenetrable and it is not penetrable.⁴³ So it is not 'emptiness' as the concept of emptiness, nor 'truth' as the concept of truth.⁴⁴ Since none of my fellow head priests understands even the phenomenal Dharma, they could hardly understand emptiness. The decline of the Buddha Dharma here in the Sung is truly beyond words."

I said: "Your verse on the windbell stands at the pinnacle of all gathas. No head priest anywhere could match it even in an infinite number of kalpas. Each member of the brotherhood should raise it up to his head in reverence. I have come here from a remote border land. I have little knowledge or experience. Yet in reading the collections of Zen records in the *Chuan-teng lu*, *Kuang-teng lu*, *Hsu-teng lu*, and *P'u-teng lu*,⁴⁵ and the individual recorded sayings of various Zen masters, I have yet to find anything to compare to it.

⁴² The full gatha (religious verse), quoted with minor variations by Dōgen in *SBGZ maka hannya haramitsu*: "The [windbell's] whole body is like a mouth suspended in empty space; East, west, north or south, it cares not how the wind may blow. Preaching prajñā to all with singleness of heart—Ti, ting, ting . . . ti ting ting." Dōgen then comments: "The whole body is prajñā. All others are prajñā. We ourselves are all prajñā. East, west, north or south, are all prajñā." *SBGZ*, p. 12.

⁴³ That is, it is not, on the one hand, some solid form or entity which is incapable of interpenetrating with others (*yu-ai* 有礙 *age*), nor, on the other, a totally interpenetrating nonentity devoid of form (*mu-ai* 無礙 *muge*), but is beyond them both.

⁴⁴ Two views regarded by Mahayana Buddhism as partial, limited to one aspect alone; *tan-k'uang* (單空 *tanku*), sheer emptiness which excludes phenomena; and *pien-hsin* (偏真 *henshin*), onesided truth which excludes illusion.

⁴⁵ Their full titles, with dates of compilation or publication: *Ching-te chuan-teng lu* (*Keitoku dentō roku*, 1004), *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng-lu* (*Tenshō kōtō roku*, 1036), *Chien-chang ching-kuo Hsu-teng lu* (*Kenchō Seikoku zokutō roku*, 1101) and *Chia-i'ai P'u-teng lu* (*Kalai futō roku*, 1201). These, together with the *Tsung-men Lien-teng Hsi-yao* (*Shaimon rentō ryō*, 1183), make up the "Five Records of the Lamp," and are the principal sources of traditional Chinese Zen history.

NORMAN WADDELL

"I am so glad to learn of it I could dance with joy. My sleeves are wet with tears of gratitude. I make obeisance to it day and night and raise it to my head in reverence. It is so plain and direct and yet possesses such fine music."

The head priest was about to get into the sedan-chair. He said with a smile: "There is profundity in what you say. It reveals a rare and outstanding spirit. I made that gatha when I was head priest at the Ch'ing-liang monastery.⁴⁶ It has been widely admired, but never before has anyone elucidated it as you have. I, the elder priest of T'ien-t'ung, affirm that you possess a true Dharma eye. If you want to compose gathas of your own, make them be like this one."

35. One night the head priest told me: "If a sentient being transmigrating through the cycle of birth and death gives rise to the religious mind, resolving to seek buddha, then he is a son of the buddhas and patriarchs. I and all other sentient beings become in the same way children of the buddhas. But while that is so, never seek to find where the relationship of father and son begins."⁴⁷

36. The head priest taught me: "When you do zazen place your tongue against the roof of your mouth. You may also rest it against the back of your upper front teeth. If someone has grown fully accustomed to zazen by putting in forty or fifty years of practice and has got to the point where he never drops his head in a doze, it is all right for him to close his eyes when he does zazen. For a beginner, not yet accustomed to zazen, sitting should be done with eyes open.⁴⁸ Should he feel tired sitting for a long time it is all right for him to alternate the position in which his legs are crossed. This is the authentic transmission that has been verified by fifty generations of buddha-patriarchs as it has passed directly down from the Buddha himself."

⁴⁶ Ju-ching served as abbot at Ch'ing-liang (清涼寺, Seiryō-ji), in present Fukien, from 1210, when he was forty-seven, until 1215. It was his first appointment.

⁴⁷ While the meaning here is not altogether clear, it seems to be a caution against seeking any kind of temporal priority with regard to the arising of the Bodhi mind, which, as an eternally changeless phenomenon, is the same for all sentient beings.

⁴⁸ See Dōgen's own instructions for zazen in *Fukan zazengi* and *SBGZ zazengi*, *Eastern Buddhist* vi, 2, pp. 115-28.

HÖKYŌ-KI

37. I asked: "Sceptics in Japan and here in China as well say that the zazen being propagated by Zen masters in present-day Zen temples is largely a Dharma of the Lesser Vehicle. How does one answer such criticism?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "Such a contention misconstrues the Buddha Dharma completely. Yuan-tzu,⁴⁹ you must know that the Tathagata's authentic Dharma is something that goes far beyond Greater and Lesser Vehicles. Because of their great compassion, however, old buddhas finally stoop down in order to give help to the unenlightened. And so they offer them skillful means or expedients, such as Greater Vehicle and Lesser Vehicle.

"Understand this, Yuan-tzu: the Greater Vehicle is seven beancakes. The Lesser Vehicle is three ricecakes.⁵⁰ What is more, the buddhas and patriarchs have never had any part in fooling children, pretending to have something for them in their closed hand [or giving them yellow leaves in place of gold]: they give yellow leaves when the occasion requires it, and gold when gold is appropriate.⁵¹ Buddhas give guarantees of buddhahood. They also spoonfeed their children.⁵² Their time does not pass idly by."

38. The head priest compassionately taught: "I have been observing you at your meditation seat in the Monks' Hall doing zazen day and night without sleeping. That is very good! Before long, you are certain to perceive a sweet, exquisite fragrance which has no equal in the ordinary world. It is a good omen. Or it may seem as if drops of oil are falling to the ground before you as you sit. Another good sign. You might experience

⁴⁹ A familiar name Ju-ching used when speaking to Dōgen.

⁵⁰ The Lesser and Greater Vehicles both represent the buddhas' skillful means. While three ricecakes and seven beancakes indicate Lesser and Greater Vehicles respectively, the cakes themselves are equally capable of satisfying hunger.

⁵¹ Two widely used expressions. The first derives ultimately from the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*. In the second, from the *Nirvana Sutra*, a parent gives his weeping child some yellow poplar leaves (here the Lesser Vehicle) saying they are gold (Greater Vehicle). Thinking them to be real gold, the child stops crying. In this context, as in footnotes 50 and 52, it is, Ju-ching says, a question of the buddhas' (who are beyond all such distinctions themselves) using skillful means freely and unrestrictedly according to the demands of the occasion.

⁵² Buddhas spoonfeed sentient beings (= Lesser Vehicle) to help awaken them to the Way; for those who have already awakened to the Bodhi mind, they give absolute assurance or certification that they will attain buddhahood (= Greater Vehicle). Both activities are skillful means.

various different sensations, but they are all auspicious. Just keep negotiating the Way in zazen with all the zeal you would exhibit in putting out a fire on the top of your head."

39. The head priest said: "The World-honored One said that hearing and thinking about the Dharma was like residing outside the gates of your house but that when you do zazen you are immediately sitting peacefully back at home. Therefore, doing zazen even for a single second or a fraction of an instant has incalculable merit.⁵³ For over thirty years now I have devoted all my time to negotiating the Way in zazen, without once ever slackening. I am sixty-four years old this year.⁵⁴ But as an old man I am all the firmer. You negotiate the Way like that too. That and nothing else is the ironclad guarantee [of Buddhahood uttered] from the golden mouth of the Buddha-patriarch."⁵⁵

40. The head priest compassionately taught: "When you do zazen, do not lean against walls, doors, chairs, or anything else. It will be detrimental to your health. Sit straight and upright according to the instructions given in the *Rules for Zazen*.⁵⁶ Be careful not to deviate from them."

41. The head priest taught: "When you rise from zazen to do *kinhin*, walk in a straight line. Don't walk in a circle. If you wish to turn after twenty or thirty paces, turn always to the right, never to the left. When you step forward, step first with the right foot, and then the left."⁵⁷

42. The chief priest compassionately said: "The footprints of the Tathagata's *kinhin*, performed when he rose from zazen, can actually be seen

⁵³ Cf. *Buddhism, Eastern Buddhist* iv, 1, p. 135.

⁵⁴ Ju-ching was sixty-four in 1227, the third year of Pao-ching, the same year Dōgen returned to Japan.

⁵⁵ The Buddha foreordained that all sentient beings who awaken the mind of Bodhi and earnestly work to achieve Buddhahood will without fail attain it.

⁵⁶ *Tso-ch'an i* 坐禪儀 *Zazen-gi*. Although there are a number of such works, this is probably the one by the twelfth century priest Chang-lu Tsung-mo (長蘆宗杲 Chōro Sōi), contained in the Zen monastery regulations *Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-buri* (*Zen shingi*, twelfth cent.). Dōgen's own version, *Fukanzazengi* (1227), follows Chang-lu on the practical aspects of sitting but differs from him on matters concerning zazen's fundamental significance and merit. These differences probably reflect Ju-ching's influence. See *Eastern Buddhist* vi, 2, pp. 117-8.

⁵⁷ See entries 12 and 25 (Part 1).

today in the land of Udyana in western India.⁵⁸ The room in which Layman Vimalakirti dwelled still exists.⁵⁹ The foundation stones of the Jetavana monastery remain as well.⁶⁰ But when one goes to sacred remains such as these and measures them, he finds them sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes extended, and sometimes contracted. Their dimensions cannot be fixed. This is a manifestation of the rush and vitality of the Buddha Dharma itself. You must know that the begging bowl and priest's robe, the raised fist and breathing nostrils⁶¹ which have spread into the eastern lands are things lying beyond man's measurements."

I rose from my seat and immediately prostrated myself before the master, putting my head to the ground with tears of joy.

43. The head priest compassionately taught: "When you do zazen you place your mind at various locations.⁶² All of them are expressly prescribed. To place the mind on the palm of the left hand is the way rightly transmitted by the buddha-patriarchs."

44. The head priest compassionately taught: "Sramanera Kao of Yao-shan did not receive the full precepts of the bhikṣu, but that does not mean he did not receive the precepts of the Buddha rightly transmitted by the buddha-patriarchs. Although [he was thus called a sramanera] he still wore the robe of a [full-fledged] Buddhist monk and carried the begging bowl. That makes him a bodhisattva-sramanera.⁶³

⁵⁸ Located in the northern part of Gandhara. Stones bearing the Buddha's footprints are described in Hsuan-tsang's *Records of Western Countries* (*Hsi-yu chi*), A.D. 656-8, and Fa-hsien's fifth century *Records of Buddhist Countries* (*Fo-kuo chi*).

⁵⁹ According to the *Fa-yuan chu-lin* 法苑珠林, a man named Wang Hsuan-so visited the city of Vaisali in central India during the years 656-660 and there measured the dimensions of Vimalakirti's room. Ui, p. 101.

⁶⁰ The monastery associated with Sakyamuni and his disciples. The ruins are described by Hsuan-tsang.

⁶¹ The raised fist is said to represent the master's activity, breathing nostrils, his silent countenance. Ui, p. 102.

⁶² The tip of the nose, the lower abdomen, and so forth.

⁶³ 高沙彌 Jap. Kō Shami. fl. first half of the eighth century. A *sramanera* (*shami*) is a novice monk who has taken his initial vows but has not received the full 250 commandments making him a full-fledged monk or bhikṣu in an orthodox sense. Kao never bothered to receive the full commandments (see story below) so he was always known as Sramanera Kao; yet he wore the priest's robe and carried the begging bowl, the marks of the authentic monk. In *SBGZ jukai* Dōgen identifies the bodhisattva (= Mahayana)

"When there is a ranking of monks, it is decided according to when the bodhisattva precepts were taken, not the sramanera precepts. That is the orthodox transmission we have inherited."⁶⁴

Yuan-tzu, you have a firm and constant resolve in seeking the Dharma. It is a cause of great joy to me. You are just the person to entrust with the line of Tung-shan."⁶⁵

45. I asked: "Studying the Way under a teacher is a superlative vestige from the lives of past buddha-patriarchs. Some people, at the time the initial mind of Bodhi awakens in them for the first time, are already like men of the Way. But when they gather practicers around them and begin

precepts ("the precepts of the Buddha"), those which have been correctly transmitted by the patriarchs, as the three refuges, the three pure precepts, and the ten grave prohibitions. Then he says: "Both T'ien-jan of Mt. Tan-hsia and Sramanera Kao of Mt. Yao received and observed [these sixteen precepts]. There may be some patriarchs who never took the full bhikṣu precepts, yet there has never yet been one who did not receive the bodhisattva precepts rightly transmitted by the buddhas and patriarchs." *SBGZ*, p. 622.

The story of Sramanera Kao's decision not to take the full precepts is given in several versions. The following is given in *Ui* (pp. 102-3): "Kao, a sramanera monk, went to Yao-shan. Yao-shan said: 'Where have you come from?' 'From Nan-yueh,' was the reply. 'Where are you going?' asked Yao-shan. 'I'm going to Chiang-liang,' said Kao. 'I'm going to take the [full] precepts.' 'What do you expect to achieve by that?' said Yao-shan. 'I hope to avoid the sufferings of birth and death,' said Kao. 'There is a man who avoids birth and death even though he has not received the precepts,' said Yao-shan. 'Do you know him?' Kao said, 'If that's true, then what use are the Buddhist precepts?' 'You lip-flapping novice!' said Yao-shan.

With that, Kao came to realize his original mind and did not take the full precepts. He decided to leave Yao-shan and go live in a hermitage. Yao-shan asked him, 'Birth and death is the matter of greatest importance, so why don't you take the precepts?' Kao said, 'If you know that, then lay off. What do you mean, "precepts"?' Yao-shan gave a loud shout, and said, 'You garrulous novice. Come build your hermitage around here. I want to see you again from time to time.' "

⁶⁴ It has been suggested that this entry is connected in some way with an episode related in biographies of Dōgen written after his death, according to which, when Dōgen first arrived at Mt. T'ien-t'ung (when Wu-chi, Ju-ching's predecessor, was head priest), he was assigned to the lowest rank in the brotherhood of monks on the grounds that he was a foreigner and in spite of the years which had elapsed since he had taken the bodhisattva precepts in Japan. See Ōkubo, *Dōgen den no kenkyū*, pp. 124-8; Takeuchi, pp. 114-17; Part 1, introduction, fn. 18.

⁶⁵ The Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō) line of Zen, whose founder (or co-founder) is Tung-shan Liang-chieh (Tōzan Ryōkai, 807-869).

HÔKYÔ-KI

to preach, it seems as if there is no Buddha Dharma. Then, some seem not to have a trace of enlightenment when the initial mind emerges. But when they begin their career of preaching the Dharma and elucidating the Way, they then reveal a disposition so extraordinary as to rival even the masters of the past. In view of this, which of the two minds can we regard as the attainment of the Way, the initial mind or the later mind?"

The head priest compassionately taught: "That is the very thing the bodhisattva Subhuti once asked the World-honored One about. Moreover, it is included in the teachings which have been authentically transmitted throughout the past in both India and China. The question is: 'If the Dharma neither increases nor decreases,'⁶⁶ how is enlightenment possible? Only a buddha could attain it. What relevance could it have for a bodhisattva?'⁶⁷

"The right transmission by all buddhas and all patriarchs says enlightenment is not merely the initial mind alone, but it is not separable from the initial mind. How can that be? Were the Way attained solely in the initial mind, then a bodhisattva should be a buddha immediately when the Bodhi mind first awakens within him, and that is not true. If there were no initial mind to begin with, how could a second mind and a third mind arise, or a second Dharma, and a third? Hence the later mind is rooted in the initial mind, and the initial mind gains its end in the later mind.

"Now let me illustrate the relation between the two with an analogy. Take, for example, the burning of a lamp wick. The flame which is now burning is not the same as the initial flame. But neither is it different from that flame. It cannot reverse its course and it cannot change itself. It is neither new nor old. It is not itself and it is not another. The lamp is the Way of the bodhisattva. The lamp wick is basic ignorance (*avidyā*). The burning flame is like the *prajñā* that is proper to the initial mind. When buddha-patriarchs devote themselves to the cultivation of the One-Practice Samadhi,⁶⁸ the *prajñā* suited to the practice of the samadhi burns

⁶⁶ That is, it is not less in the beginner's mind and greater when experience is gained.

⁶⁷ The same question and the following analogy appear in the *Ta-chik-fo-lun* (*Dazhi-dun*), 75.

⁶⁸ 一行三昧. This appears in the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* 大乘起信論, where it is described as a samadhi in which all buddhas and all sentient beings are one universal, non-dualistic body. In the *Platform Sutra*, Hui-neng says it is the constant working of the single mind of suchness in all places and at all times, "whether going or staying, sitting or lying down."

NORMAN WADDELL

away the illusions which stem from ignorance. There is in this no before or after and no separation from before and after. This is the fundamental principle rightly transmitted by the buddhas and patriarchs."